

Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 PM-03 L-02 DODE-00 PRS-01 AID-10 CPR-01

SCS-01 SCA-01 RSR-01 EB-03 NEA-06 IGA-01 /070 W

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P 120746 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2339

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KAMPALA 1313

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (CORRECTED PARA FIVE

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EAID US UG

SUBJECT: USG- GOU RELATIONS

REF: A) KAMPALA 1226 B) KAMPALA 1228 C) STATE 066001

SUMMARY: TO ASSIST DEPARTMENT' S CONSIDERATION OF HOW BEST TO REACT TO GENERAL AMIN' S LATEST TELEGRAM, AS WELL AS WHEN AND IN WHAT TERMS GOU IS TO BE ADVISED OF WITHDRAWAL AMBASSADOR MELADY AND TERMINATION OF USAID PROGRAM IN UGANDA, COUNTRY TEAM MET APRIL 5, 10, AND 12 TO DISCUSS MEANING OF AMIN' S TELEGRAM AND PRESENT STATE OF USG- GOU RELATIONS, AND TO DRAW UP SUCH RECOMMENDATIONS AS WE THOUGHT ADVISABLE AT THIS JUNCTURE. IDEAS AND PROPOSALS WHICH FOLLOW REPRESENT COLLECTIVE VIEWS OF COUNTRY TEAM. OUR ESSENTIAL RECOMMENDATION IS THAT, IN ADDITION TO RESPONSE TO BE MADE IN ACCORDANCE REFERENCE C, CHARGE BE INSTRUCTED TO GIVE ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER PAUL ETIANG, OFFICIALLY THOUGHORALLY, A FRANK APPRAISAL OF STATE OF USG- GOU RELATIONS AS WE SEE THEM, INCLUDING EXPLANATIONS OF USG' S DECISIONS AND ACTIONS WITH RESPECT AMBASSADOR AND USAID PROGRAM. WE BELIEVE THIS COURSE IS NECESSARY AT THIS TIME IN ORDER TO MAINAIN A DIGNIFIED AND HONORABLE RELATIONSHIP WITH GOU AND ENTIRE LOCAL
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COMMUNITY, AS WELL AS TO PRESERVE CREDIBILITY OF THIS MISSION,
BOTH OF WHICH ARE PREREQUISITES TO BE CONTINUED VIABILITY OF
AN OFFICIAL USG PRESENCE IN UGANDA POST- JUNE 30, 1973.
END SUMMARY.

1. WE BELIEVE THAT GENERAL AMIN SINCERELY WISHES TO IMPROVE HIS
AND GOU' S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. THOUGH HE CLEARLY
CANNOT RESTRAIN HIMSELF FROM LECTURING US ABOUT VIETNAM, EVEN
WHEN HE IS TRYING TO BE HIS MOST CONCILIATORY, IT WOULD APPEAR
HE HAS BEEN STIMULATED TO THIS EFFORT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS THROUGH
REALIZATION THAT USG RECALLED ITS AMBASSADOR BECAUSE OF DIS-
PLEASURE WITH HIS EARLIER TELEGRAM, AND THAT-- FOR REASONS WHICH
PROBA

BLY

BAFFLE HIM-- WE ARE IN PROCESS OF WITHDRAWING SOME OOR MOST
OF OUR ASSISTANCE PERSONNEL. WE ALSO BELIEVE HE SINCERELY
ADMIRE AND APPRECIATES AMERICAN AID AND TECHNICIANS AND WOULD
LIKE TO SEE BOTH CONTINUE IN FULL FORCE. SOME WESTERN CHIEFS
OF MISSION GO SO FAR AS TO DESCRIBE AMIN' S APRIL 4 TELEGRAM AS
AN " APOLOGY" TO US.

2. WE DO NOT THINK HIS GESTURE CALLS FOR ANY RECONSIDERATION
OF DECISIONS ALREADY TAKEN OR ANY SERIOUS REAPPRAISAL OF OUR
POLICIES OR POSTURE TOWARD GOU. THE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS
WHICH LED US TO TAKE THE DECISIONS WE DID HAVE NOT CHANGED IN
THE SLIGHTEST DEGREE. WE DO, HOWEVER, BELIEVE THAT ELEMENTARY
COURTESY IN OUR RELATIONS WITH GOU DEMANDS THAT SOME SUBSTANTIVE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF T E GENERAL' S EFFORT BE MADE. FURTHERMORE,
HIS MESSAGE PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO EXPALIN TO GOU
CERTAIN THINGS THAT WE THINK NEED EXPLAINING. WHILE IT SEEMS
FUTILE TO TRY TO CHANGE AMIN' S VIEWS ON VIETNAM, HIS TELEGRAM
ALSO ADDRESSED SUBJECTS OF US- UGANDAN RELATIONS AND STATUS OF
OUR AID PROGRAM, AND WE SEE ADVANTAGES IN OUR PROVIDING RESPONSES
IN THESE AREAS AT LEAST.

3. WITHDRAWAL OF AMBASSADOR MELADY IS TODAY COMMON KONWLEDGE IN
KAMPALA, REACHING EVEN THE HIGHEST
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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SS-14 NSCE-00 NSC-10 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 PM-03 L-02 DODE-00 PRS-01 AID-10 CPR-01

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P 120747 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2340

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KAMPALA 1313/2

PRIVATE CITIZENS WHO WILL STILL BE RESIDENT IN THE COUNTRY. ADMITTEDLY WE HAVE NO USE FOR AMIN, BUT HE IS NOT UGANDA AND ITS TEN MILLION PEOPLE, A DISTINCTION WHICH SHOULD NOT BE LOST SIGHT OF. IN LONGER- RANGE TERMS WE NEED TO THINK ABOUT PRESERVING A RESPECTED IMAGE IN THE EYES OF THE UGANDAN PEOPLE (WHO WILL RIGHTLY FEEL THAT FOR OUR OWN REASONS WE HAVE DECIDED TO " ABON- DON" THEN TO THEIR FATE) SO THAT, WHEN UGANDA ONCE AGAIN (IF EVER A PESSIMIST WOULD ADD) ENJOYS THE BENEFIT OF A RATIONAL HUMANE, AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN RE- ESTABLISHING CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS.

8. IN ADDITION TO ACKNOWLEDGING RECEIPT OF AMIN' S MESSAGE, STATING THAT IT IS VIEWED WITH INTEREST, AND EXPRESSING OUR GRATIFICATION WITH EX GRATIA PAYMENTS BY GOU TO STROH/ SIEDLE FAMILIES (PER REF C), WE WOULD PROPOSE THAT THE CHARGE BE IN- STRUCTURED TO ADVISE MR. ETIANG OFFICIALLY, THOUGH ORALLY, THAT THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN WITHDRAWN, IN EXPLANATION IT WOULD BE STATED THAT IN THE USG' S VIEW AN EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS SYMBOLIZES AND CONFIRMS THE EXISTENCE OF A CERTAIN MINIMAL LEVEL OF CORDIALITY BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED AND THAT IN OUR OPINION THE STATE OF OUR RELATIONS HAS FALLEN BELOW THAT MINIMAL LEVEL. ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN NO SINGLE ACT THAT CAUSED SUCH A DETERIORATION-- THERE HAVING BEEN MANY FACTORS DURING THE PAST YEAR-- PRESIDENT AMIN' S HARSH AND UNPROVOKED PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE UNITED STATES OVER VIETNAM AT THE VERY TIME THAT THAT LONG CONFLICT HAD BEEN TERMINATED WITH A CEASE FIRE AGREEMENT SATISFACTORY TO ALL THE
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PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED, CERTAINLY DEMONSTRATED TO US THAT OUR RELATIONS HAD FALLEN BELOW THE LEVEL OF CORDIALITY SYMBOLIZED BY AN EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS. WHILE IN HIS LATEST TELEGRAM PRESIDENT AMIN PRAISED THE VIETNAM PEACE AGREEMENT, WE DO NOT FEEL THAT THERE HAS AS YET BEEN A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP. AMONG A NUMBER OF OTHER THINGS THERE REMAINS THE CONSIDERABLE VARIANCE BETWEEN THE APPROACHES OF OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS TO THE QUESTION OF TERRORISM. (AT THIS POINT CHARGE COULD BRIEF MR. ETIANG ON USG VIEWS ON COMBATING THREAT OF TERRORISM, ALONG LINES OF STATE 045566.) IN CONTRAST TO OUR OWN POSITION, GOU GIVES APPEARANCE OF
CONDONING TERRORISM IF IT IS COMMITTED IN FURTHERANCE OF A CAUSE

GOU SUPPORTS. IN THIS CONNECTION WE NOTE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT PRESIDENT AMIN SENT MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO AL FATAH LEADER OVER KILLING OF HIS AIDES IN BEIRUT BY ISRAELI COMMANDOS. WE ARE STILL WAITING FOR HIS MESSAGES OF CONDOLENCE OVER MURDER OF TWO AMERICAN DIPLOMATS IN KHARTOUM BY PERSON DESCRIBED IN UGANDAN MEDIA AS BLACK SEPTEMBER "FREEDOM FIGHTERS."

9. IN EXPLAINING TO MR. ETIANG THE PLANNED TERMINATION OF THE AID PROGRAM, THE FOLLOWING REASONS MIGHT BE CITED:

- A) SOME OF OUR PROJECTS ARE SCHEDULED FOR COMPLETION BY THE END OF THEIR PRESENT FISCAL YEAR.
- B) IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO REQUEST ANY NEW APPROPRIATIONS FROM THE CONGRESS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN UGANDA BECAUSE OF THE HOSTILITY FELT BY IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THAT BODY TOWARD SOME OTHER POLICIES AND ACTIONS OF THE UGANDAN GOVERNMENT.
- C) WITHOUT THE INJECTION OF NEW FUNDS, THE WHOLE AMERICAN AID EFFORT IN UGANDA HAS BEEN RUNNING DOWNHILL AS THE PIPELINE RUNS DRY.
- D) IN A NUMBER OF AREAS OUR TECHNICIANS AND ADVISERS HAVE FOUND THAT THEY AND THEIR COUNTERPARTS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO WORK EFFECTIVELY BECAUSE OF CONDITIONS-- MAINLY LACK OF SECURITY-- IN THE COUNTRY, AND WE CANNOT JUSTIFY IDLE PEOPLE HERE INDEFINITELY HOPING FOR BETTER DAYS.

3) IN VIEW OF ALL OF THE ABOVE THE USG HAS DECIDED THAT WE CANNOT CONTINUE A VIABLE AID PROGRAM HERE FOR THE PRESENT, BUT WE NATURALLY HOPE THAT UNDER CHANGED CONDITIONS WE WILL ONE DAY AGAIN BE IN A POSITION TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY, A GOAL TO WHICH WE REMAIN JUST AS COMMITTED AS BEFORE.

- F) THE EMBASSY WILL, OF COURSE, CONTINUE CERTAIN CULTURAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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TECHNICAL TRAINING PROGRAMS, PROVIDING TUITION AND MANY OTHER COSTS FOR UGANDAN STUDENTS ALREADY STUDYING UNDER THESE PROGRAMS AND OFFERING FROM TIME TO TIME ADDITIONAL GRANTS FOR STUDY AND TRAVEL IN THE US.

10. COUNTRY TEAM IS AWARE OF THE CONCERN FELT IN SOME QUARTERS THAT IF WE TELL THE GOU WHAT WE ARE DOING IT MIGHT JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF THE PEOPLE DESTINED TO LEAVE UGANDA AS WELL AS THOSE AMERICANS WHO WILL REMAIN BEHIND. WE DISCOUNT THIS ARGUMENT FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

- A) THE GOU ALREADY KNOWS WHAT WE ARE DOING WHETHER WE TELL THEM IN SO MANY WORDS OR NOT.
- B) SO LONG AS WE DO NOT MAKE ANY PUBLIC DECLARATIONS, IT WILL BE

BETTER, BOTH IN THE SHORT RUN AND LONG- TERM, IF WE ARE CANDID WITH
THEM RATHER THAN TRYING (AND FAILING) TO SNEAK OUT UNNOTICED.
C) BASED ON HIS PAST PERFORAMCNE AMIN IS NOT LIKELY " TO TAKE
IT OUT ON ANYONE" BECAUSE WE ARE WITHDRAWING OUR AMBASSADOR AND
OUR AID PERSONNEL. AMIN KICKED BHC SLATER OUT, AND WHEN HMG
DECIDED
NOT REPLACE HIM AMIN' S ONLY REACTION WAS TO DOWNGRADE HIS MISSION
IN LONDON IN SIMILAR FASHION. WHEN HMG ANNOUNCED ITS AID PEOPLE
WOULD LEAVE AS THEIR CONTRACTS ENDED AMIN' S REACTION WAS TO SAY
THAT ALL THOSE BRITISH TECHNICIANS WHO HAD GIVEN NOTICE OF THEIR
INTENTION TO LEAVE BEFORE EXPIRATION OF THEIR CONTRACTS SHOULD DO
SO BY THE END OF THE YEAR (LAST DEC 31). THE OTHERS HAVE NOT BEEN
AFFECTED AND ARE CONTINUING TO WORK TO COMPLETE THEIR CONTACTS.
WHEN THE CANADIAN HC INFORMED AMIN OF THE TERMINATION OF THE
CANADIAN AID PROGRAM THE GENERAL
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